Fragmentation in Urban Movements
The Role of Urban Planning Processes

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— FRAGMENTATION IN URBAN MOVEMENTS:
The Role of Urban Planning Processes

ESIN ÖZDEMIR AND AYDA ERAYDIN

Abstract

Urban plans and projects that aim to initiate the redevelopment and gentrification of urban areas create social and ecological pressures on urban environments and thereby stimulate urban movements. These movements have a lifespan, which evolves in interaction with planning authorities under local or central governments and may be marked by institutionalization and co-optation, as well as fragmentation among the people involved in them. Fragmentations are usually based on conflicting individual and collective interests, but may also be the result of different political perspectives in groups. This article is based on a case study conducted in two adjacent gecekondu neighbourhoods of Istanbul, Gülsuyu and Gülensu, where urban politics have played an important role in efforts to resist plans for urban transformation. It shows that fragmentations are very likely to occur in urban movements during planning processes in a neoliberal era, owing to the different perspectives in the movement on what the just city is.

Introduction

Since the 1980s, the state's interest in urban land as a means of financing economic growth has resulted in increased pressure on urban management and land-use planning. Large-scale urban renewal projects and spatial plans paved the way for the development of the real estate sector and, in the 2000s, the influence of state entrepreneurialism on urban management became more evident, with urban areas transforming in line with the requirements of the global neoliberal market economy (Peck *et al.*, 2009; Brenner *et al.*, 2012; Hilgers, 2012; Wacquant, 2012). Accordingly, urban planning systems have changed substantially. Although participatory processes have been introduced, planning decisions have been mostly shaped by the aspirations of the market, while party politics and the state have played a mediating role, usually in favour of market dominance. This situation has led to the initiation of urban movements by people directly affected by the planning decisions as well as people who oppose the neoliberalization of urban space. There has been a number of studies of movements against urban plans that introduce large-scale infrastructure, renewal and redevelopment projects to urban centres (Pruijt, 2003; De Souza, 2007; Uitermark, 2009; Martinez, 2011; Loopmans and Dirckx, 2012; Nicholls and Vermeulen, 2012; Rutland, 2013; Lelandais, 2014; Schipper, 2015).

While the literature on urban movements underlines the importance of these insurgencies as politicized struggles against neoliberal urban restructuring, in recent years there has been growing concern over the outcomes of urban movements as well as the rapid fading away of urban insurgencies such as the Occupy movement and Gezi Park protests (Swyngedouw, 2014; Erensü and Karaman, 2017; García-Lamarca, 2017). This suggests an urgent need to understand the nature of contemporary urban movements, the constraints and challenges they face, and the emerging fragmentations within them (Mayer, 2003; 2006; 2013; Uitermark, 2004a; Lier and Stokke, 2006; Sites, 2007; Iveson, 2014), besides their potential to bring alternative solutions for urban issues to those imposed by the authorities, all of which define whether they are potential political actors or not.

According to several studies, demands and political opinions are divisive at the urban scale. Thus movements have diverging prospects and action repertoires, resulting in fragmentation in city-wide movements. People gather around the idea of struggling against the changes in the urban pattern and urban projects; however, during the course of the evolution of their movement, fragmentations surface among them—interest-driven fragmentations (Cohen-Blankshtain, *et al.,* 2012) and fragmentations based on ideological perspectives on the just city (Orutea, 2007; Novy and Colomb, 2013). Several interesting examples show the importance of personal gains acquired through planning provisions in fragmentation based on interests and/or the loss of motivation in movements (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Aksoy; 2012; Uysal, 2012; Demirtaş-Milz, 2013; Sakızlıoğlu and Uitermark, 2014).

Despite this wealth of discussion on fragmentations in urban movements, several issues have received less attention in the existing literature, such as how fragmentations change in the lifespan of a movement, the conditions that enable people who belong to different fragments to strive for consensus, and the motivations of people with very different interests who bring about alternative plans by acting together. There is still a question mark over whether, during the course of their interaction with the local authority, the fragments of an urban movement are able to reach a consensus not only on their individual interests but also on what a just city is. The answers are important for discussions of the future of urban movements, which have lost their credibility as processes for producing space politically.

This article aims to understand the dynamics and evolution of urban movements by focusing on the interactions between different groups with different aspirations within such movements and with local authorities during planning processes. In doing so, we introduce a case study in which interest-driven motives united people against the redevelopment plan prepared for two adjacent *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in Istanbul, Gülsuyu and Gülensu, which are located in the district of Maltepe on the Asian side. These neighbourhoods, developed in the 1950s on predominantly state-owned land by rural migrants from middle and eastern provinces, are highly accessible to existing sub-city centres. Located in an earthquake-safe zone, with an inspiring topography and attractive scenery, they have been brought under strong market pressure for redevelopment in the last two decades. The projects introduced by the local authorities, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) and the Maltepe District Municipality (MDM), resulted in movements against planning decisions that included institutional, legal and street aspects. The case study, which was conducted in 2012–13, is based on multiple methods including pilot interviews, participant observation at meetings organized by activists in the movement, round-table meetings and 22 in-depth semi-structured interviews with activists, residents and urban planners.

The experience of these neighbourhoods is valuable for an academic exercise. It reveals the dynamics of an organized opposition to redevelopment plans and projects and how the planning process creates fragmentations in a small community known for its strong ties of solidarity, besides the learning processes that enable people to reach a consensus at least on certain issues.

The article finally aims to explore to what extent movements can be influential in building a more just city and urban planning and a new model of urban development by going beyond merely reflecting certain interests in urban space. In order to achieve this, it focuses on two issues: first, how urban movements and planning are affected by their mutual relationship, considering the perceptions, reactions and changing strategies of movements vis-à-vis planning decisions; and second, the dynamics of urban movements when individual and collective interests conflict, as well as in cases of ideological conflict, since both instances lead to fragmentation.

The article is organized as follows. The discussions on the relationship between urban planning and urban movements, paying particular attention to fragmentation in

the latter, are introduced in the following section, while an attempt is made in the third section to evaluate urban movements with respect to the existing planning system in Turkey. Special attention is accorded to the different planning strategies relating to gecekondu neighbourhoods. The fourth section presents the target of the case study: the movement in Gülsuyu and Gülensu. After providing some brief information about the characteristics of the neighbourhoods, an analysis is made of the interaction between the movement and the planning process that has been continuing since 2004.

The relationship between urban movements and urban planning

There is a large body of literature on urban movements (e.g. Olives, 1976; Pickvance, 1976; 1985; 1986; 2003; Castells, 1977; 1983; 1996; Fainstein and Fainstein, 1985; Le Galès, 2002; Mayer, 2006; 2009; 2013), but the literature on the relationship between urban movements and urban planning is limited, although the interactions between urban movements and urban planning are deemed important (Pickvance, 1985; Fainstein and Hirst, 1995) and an essential dimension of urban democracy (Martínez, 2011). Furthermore, there are differences in how urban movements are defined. Some adopt a restrictive usage, emphasizing urban social movements as mechanisms of structural change and arguing that the movements cannot become 'social' unless they bring about this change (Castells, 1977; 1983). Others, conversely, adopt a generic usage (Pickvance, 1985) as we do here, seeing urban movements as attempts or struggles to effect change on urban issues and mobilizations in response to urban problems, while not necessarily bringing about structural change.[1] Three periods can be deduced from the related literature, representing how structures and planning systems create urban movements, and how urban movements are subject to fragmentation throughout the planning process.

The relationship between the movements and urban planning in the 1960s and 1970s was defined as more or less clear-cut and antagonistic. Castells drew attention to this antagonism in *The Urban Question* (1977), making a distinction between the level of structures and the level of practices. Planning operates at the level of structures to assure the structural reproduction of the dominant mode of production and power relations, whereas urban movements operate at the level of practices, aiming to achieve a substantial modification of the existing power relations.[2] In the framework of these antagonistic relationships, the movements of the 1960s and 1970s mobilized against the interventions of modernist planning that were based on technocratic and rational comprehensive decision making. According to Fainstein (2005: 124), 'the reform movement was attacking the prevailing rational or quasi-rational model on two grounds: first, it was a misguided process; and second, it produced a city that no one wanted'. The focus of the *reformers* was on the roots of urban inequality, and their aim was to achieve democratic participation in urban planning—see Uitermark (2009) for Amsterdam and Stahre (2004) for Stockholm. In this period, two types of fragmentation came to the fore: (1) vertical fragmentation, defined as a persistent disconnection between locally and nationally based oppositional actors as they relate to urban mobilization[3]

1   The point of consensus of Castells and others was the idea that urban movements opposed the social order or some aspect of it and aimed at participation in local decision making. On the other hand, terms like mobilization, struggle or resistance, which are usually used interchangeably in the literature, are used in this article with slightly different meanings. 'Social mobilization' is defined conventionally as a 'name given to an overall process of change, which happens to substantial parts of the population in countries which are moving from traditional to modern ways of life' (Deutsch, 1961: 493). In this regard, *mobilization* basically refers here to a change in the state of the movement, from a more static towards a more dynamic one, using the resources available at hand. Struggle and resistance, on the other hand, indicate the conduct of movements or, in other words, what movements do in their *lifespans* in terms of more specific actions or chains of actions.

2   In Castells's later work, *The City and the Grassroots* (1983), although he changed his framework to include 'non-class' factors such as gender, identity and local autonomy as drivers behind urban movements, he insisted on the need for movements to aim at a more structural urban social change.

3   Castells (1983) had argued that vertical fragmentation would be the final destiny of those urban movements that were unable to link particular urban issues to underlying socio-economic dynamics and turn them into struggles for broader societal change.

and (2) horizontal fragmentation, defined as a longstanding division between labour and community organizations within the urban polity (see Lier and Stokke, 2006; Sites, 2007; Iveson, 2014). A clear example of vertical fragmentation appeared in the squatter movements in Europe. In Amsterdam, for example, some residents saw squatting as a means of addressing a housing shortage and an outcome of capitalism, while it was an alternative way of life for others (Uitermark, 2004a).

The 1980s marked an important turning point in the mode of production and the regime of accumulation, with a change from the Keynesian economic development model to the neoliberal ideology. Powerful forces of fragmentation and marginalization were integral to the workings of neoliberal restructuring (Sites, 2007), with substantial implications for the principles of urban planning and the relationship between urban politics and movements. While *rational comprehensive planning* lost its popularity, *communicative rationality,* based on Habermasian communicative action theory, became the basis of the new planning approach,[4] namely communicative (or collaborative) planning (Forester, 1989; Healey, 1996; Innes, 1996; Sager, 2006). Recognizing the demands for the democratization of planning, the new approach emphasized that it might be possible to achieve the desired end through mechanisms of interaction that could theoretically include all partners (Purcell, 2009). As a result, from the 1990s onwards, formerly antagonistic movements became innovative partners in urban planning (Mayer, 2013), and many of the demands that were on the agenda of the earlier movements began to be realized 'in public–private partnerships, community boards and round tables, which include civil society stakeholders' (Mayer, 2006: 205). This interaction mechanism resulted in yet another fragmentation on the terrain of movements: between radicals and cooperationists. While some movements that used to have an oppositional character engaged in routinized cooperation with the local state (Mayer, 2003) 'moving from protest to contractualization, participation and service provision' (Le Galès, 2002: 191), some movements became increasingly radicalized, having a broad repertoire ranging from direct action and squatting to uncovering and publicizing the plans and methods of large developers. Several empirical studies have depicted fragmentations in movements based on disagreements over what strategy should be pursued towards the local state—a radical or cooperationist one (e.g. Castells, 1983; Orutea, 2007; Novy and Colomb, 2013). On the other hand, studies on squatter movements provide important insights into our understanding of fragmentation in the form of routinized cooperation vs. radicalization. For example, fragmentation is analysed in some studies of squatters as co-optation by the state and a level of institutionalization in certain segments of the movement as opposed to continued radicalism (Pruijt, 2003). However, Uitermark (2004a; 2004b) sees the 'co-opted vs. radicalized' argument as a simple dichotomy that cannot capture the dynamics of movements. He emphasizes their heterogeneity, in the sense that different segments pursue divergent goals with differing strategies and tactics that may not fit either co-optation or radicalization.

From the 1990s onwards, a fragmented urban movement scene was interacting with urban planning, with the latter's participatory mechanisms being perceived as lacking the ability to bring equal opportunities for all.

As regards the current state of the relationship between movements and planning, literature provides insight into the new urban policies and practices: the engagement of the governance regime in policymaking; the commodification of urban land in order to finance economic growth (Peck *et al.*, 2009); and the increasing influence of state entrepreneurialism on urban management (MacLeod, 2002). The existing planning system is criticized not only for not offering the prospect of equality, but also for its role in the neoliberal political-economic agenda. Purcell (2009) emphasizes that communicative action planning is useful for harnessing the impacts of neoliberalism, and

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4   See Habermas (1990, 1993).

although communicative action theory was not intended to serve the interests of those with power, it provides good grounds for legitimizing neoliberal practices. It has been further suggested that communicative action tends to suppress the radical and transformative edge in practice (Harris, 2002), favouring some social groups and not others (Young, 1996, 1999; Flyvbjerg, 1998; Fainstein, 2000; Gunton *et al.*, 2006) by excluding the latter from urban decision-making processes (Swyngedouw, 2005). Furthermore, the project-based character of urban planning is criticized for preventing 'movements from transcending the localized issues associated with a project's implementation' (Swyngedouw *et al.*, 2002: 574), aggravating the vertical fragmentation mentioned above, since it appears to be 'too divisive for the local populace to provide a basis for widespread collective mobilization' (Loopmans and Dirckx, 2012: 112). An urban political setting based on diversification of interests, competition over rights and resources (Blokland *et al.*, 2015), an entrepreneurial modality privileging private interests, and the appearance of too many NGOs in urban space have contributed to the fragmentation in the movement terrain (Kemp *et al.*, 2015). Furthermore, as shown by several empirical studies focusing on the impacts of urban movements on urban planning and the effectiveness of opposition,[5] antagonism between the different elements prevails in the contemporary era (see Pruijt, 2004; Martínez, 2011; Van Dijk *et al.*, 2011; Nicholls and Vermeulen, 2012; Attuyer, 2015; Schipper, 2015; Nicholls and Uitermark, 2017).

Fragmentations based on planning provisions have become more common in contemporary movements. For example, in their study of public participation in the preparation of a neighbourhood plan in East Jerusalem, centring on the efforts of an NGO, Cohen-Blankshtain *et al.* (2012) show how the variations in the possible costs and benefits of the plan between different individuals created an obstacle to the creation of a vision of general community interest, which affected public participation negatively. Schipper (2015), in his study on movements calling for affordable housing in Tel-Aviv, shows how the local elites have incorporated the goals of movements into their gentrification policies at the discourse level while favouring housing policies that mostly favour the middle class who possess the necessary skills for Tel-Aviv's global strategy.

There are several examples in Turkey in which differences in the personal gains acquired through planning provisions have weakened and even put an end to collective resistance against those implementing the plan, leaving those without property rights in the most disadvantageous position (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Aksoy; 2012; Uysal, 2012; Demirtaş-Milz, 2013; Sakızlıoğlu and Uitermark, 2014). This has resulted in a mutation in the form of collective resistance towards those implementing the projects, in which motives to maximize personal gain have been triggered at the expense of collective goals (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). Ambiguities in the legal framework and arbitrariness in implementation have further aggravated these conflicting interests (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010; Demirtaş-Milz, 2013; Kuyucu, 2014). Furthermore, officials involved in the planning process have in certain cases directly engaged in practices that were discriminatory—or 'fragmentary' in the words of residents themselves—by offering much more for certain properties than they were actually worth (Demirtaş-Milz, 2013).

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5   For example, Pruijt (2003) analysed the impact of public protests on urban planning in Amsterdam and concluded that they contributed to the adoption of more cautious steps by decision makers, including the 'compact city' as a model of city planning. Another study in Amsterdam shows how issues that can lead to urban unrest, like immigrant rights, are dealt with through technocratic planning tools, meaning that they cannot be challenged easily by the public (Nicholls and Vermeulen, 2012). In their comparative study of two contested projects in the Netherlands and the resulting local opposition, Van Dijk *et al.* (2011) showed how the effectiveness of the opposition is influenced by the relative location of the project, the resulting size of the population that is negatively affected, as well as the administrative territories of local governments and intergovernmental relations. Martínez (2011) draws attention to the heterogeneous, complex interactions between urban actors involved in planning and urban movements in his comparative study of Vigo (Spain) and Porto (Portugal), concluding that the higher the level of participation, the more conflictive and controversial urban politics becomes. Attuyer (2015) showed how community representatives from a disadvantaged neighbourhood were able to effectively resist and delay the imposition of 'neoliberal plans' by introducing other values such as 'new use culture' and 'community gain', despite the trends towards co-option within participative structures.

In that sense, 'divide and rule' tactics by the state apparatuses have so far worked in Turkey, as opposed to similar contexts in Greece, for example, where weakness limited the ability of the state to penetrate the urban grassroots and pursue such divisive strategies (Arampatzi and Nicholls, 2012).

This brief overview shows that the literature on fragmentation in urban movements usually focuses on it as a general phenomenon and pays little attention to how particular movements are affected by fragmentation in their overall lifespan. It also implicitly treats fragmentation as a signifier of the final downfall of a movement. There is, therefore, a need for further exploration of why, at what stages and how fragmentations occur as well as of the strategies that urban movements pursue in order to overcome them. This article aims to address these issues through a more in-depth and focused analysis of how an urban movement is subject to variabilities, including the different kinds of fragmentation and joint efforts to bring alternatives that become evident and determinant when relationships with local states in general and urban planning in particular are in question. Gülsuyu and Gülensu's experience is, consequently, an important and interesting case to show how both ideological stances and individual and collective interests manifest themselves during the planning process.

Planning and urban movements in Turkey

Urban movements in Turkey have maintained benefit-driven relations with the existing planning systems. The relationships between urban movements and planning authorities differed from those seen in the advanced capitalist world up until the 1990s, based on the nature of urbanization in the country (Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2014). That said, the fading of the north–south divide in movements in Europe from the 1990s onwards (Leontidou, 2010), which was part of a broader convergence of the urban experiences of the larger cities on both sides of the globe (Smith, 2002), also held true for Turkey, albeit with a one decade delay.

The history of urban movements in Turkey is connected strongly to the nature of planning systems and practice, in which two distinct periods can be defined: (1) interest-driven urban movements that aimed to modify existing planning practice and acquire special rights; and (2) urban movements that challenge neoliberal urban policies and practices, in which both collective- and property-based individual interests are at play.

–   Interest-driven urban struggles against the existing planning system in order to receive special advantages

Interest-driven urban struggles against the existing planning system in Turkey are seen mostly in the gecekondu areas that began to emerge in the 1950s to satisfy the growing need for shelter in the wake of massive rural-to-urban migration (Tekeli and Erder, 1978).[6] Limited capital accumulation in the country, which resulted in the state's inability to provide affordable housing for the newcomers (Tekeli, 2004), compelled the latter to find their own solutions to surviving in the city. This resulted in the construction of unauthorized housing—what came to be referred to as gecekondus. Şenyapılı (1998) emphasized that gecekondu referred to more than a type of building constructed on public land or someone else's land, and accentuated its labour dimension, arguing that the population of these areas constituted the labour that circulated among low-paid jobs in the economic space. The low-cost labour dimension was also emphasized by Tekeli (1982), who argued that the gecekondu was the rural migrant's solution to the housing problem, a solution which did not lead to any increase in the cost of the reproduction of labour, namely wages. In that regard, the gecekondu has always had a class dimension (Şen, 2010).

6   *Gecekondu* (literal translation—built overnight). Most are built on public land, although some are constructed on private land owned by third parties. According to legislation, all are accepted as illegal or unauthorized housing constructions.

Although local governments provided infrastructure and transport services to these areas, the lack of legal status of the gecekondu led to interest-driven urban mobilizations. Throughout the 1970s, populist policies were promised in urban politics (legal status to be granted to the gecekondu dwellers in return for votes), especially in the run-up to elections. In order to defuse rising tensions, the central government made several exemptions for gecekondu settlements in planning and property legislation. While the existing Planning Law No.6785 (1956) introduced procedures and principles for the preparation and implementation of spatial plans and measures for the regulation of urban development, it disregarded the gecekondu areas, for which a special law was enacted, Gecekondu Law No. 775 (1966), which defined procedures for the clearing or improvement of squatter settlements and prevention of further squatting (Akbulut and Başlık, 2011). This provided a level of satisfaction for gecekondu dwellers, such as legal recognition along with economic gains.

The high level of politicization during the 1970s marks a very important period in the history of certain gecekondu neighbourhoods in Turkey and represents a temporary break with interest-driven struggles. During the 1970s many gecekondu areas witnessed clashes between right- and left-wing groups. Those with a mostly Alevi population found it easier to establish a political identity, and an alliance between the population in these areas and leftist groups was formed (Erman, 2011; see the fourth section on the case study below). On the other hand, nationalists were dominant in Sunni-conservative gecekondu areas. In that period, certain leftist groups—Dev-Yol (Revolutionary Path) and Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left) in particular—took territorial control of those areas where Kurdish and Alevi populations were concentrated. People's Committees were established in these neighbourhoods with the support of leftist groups, in an attempt at self-management.[7] However, this project was carried out experimentally in a very limited number of gecekondu areas or towns in Turkey—Gülsuyu and Gülensu being two of them. The political insurgency of the 1970s was ended by the coup d'état of 12 September 1980. Following a short period of military rule, a newly elected government launched an economic programme introducing neoliberal principles and a new approach to housing development.

Parallel to these developments, the built environment, including gecekondu areas, began to change. The government attempted to consolidate its rule by offering opportunities to members of various income classes, with the first step in this regard being the adoption of the Law on Mass Housing No. 2985 (1984), establishing the Housing Development Agency (HDA)[8] and initiating several housing projects to quell the protests against the state's new economic policies. The legislation on mass housing served mainly the middle-income groups and, in order to reach out to the disadvantaged population living mostly in gecekondu settlements, the government approved legislation to regularize the illegally built housing stock.[9] The new legislation gave gecekondu residents the chance to obtain title deeds to the land they occupied on payment of a sum of money determined by the central government. The new regulations resulted in a dualistic structure in the urban planning system: a classic rational and comprehensive planning system on the one hand; and on the other a special planning system to be applied in the case of gecekondu neighbourhoods that had earlier been built illegally

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7   People's Committees: throughout the political insurgency of the 1970s in Turkey, which ended with the military coup d'état of 12 September 1980, certain leftist groups took territorial control of certain gecekondu neighbourhoods where Kurdish and Alevi populations were concentrated and established 'People's Committees' to run them as self-managing territories. With members elected by the local public, the People's Committees functioned as platforms for the residents to discuss and propose solutions to issues of collective interest, such as health, education, waste disposal, etc. as well as to fight against organized crime and black marketing. Gülsuyu-Gülensu is one of the few examples of People's Committees.

8   The HDA was founded with the primary aim of building affordable urban housing for middle- and low-income groups, and to provide credits and loans for those groups.

9   The first Amnesty Laws date back to 1948, but they were accelerated in the 1980s with laws numbered 2805 (1983), 2981 (1984), 3290 (1986) and 3366 (1987).

on areas of public or private property. They also paved the way for the transformation and commercialization of gecekondu neighbourhoods into estates of apartment blocks. Those who had settled in areas at greater risk from natural disasters, forest areas where no regularization was possible, or had built their houses on someone's private land, where regularization would require agreement of the landowner, were unable to take advantage of this legislation, creating fragmentation among gecekondu dwellers: those who were able to benefit from the increase in the value of urban land after obtaining new building rights, and those who were not.

–   Variegated urban movements against neoliberal urban policies and practice: collective versus property-based individual interests

From 2000 onwards, special importance was given to the urban land and property market as a source of economic growth. Support for urban areas served a dual purpose: (1) attracting global economic functions and stimulating the influx of foreign investments and globally circulating capital; and (2) inducing construction activities in the form of housing, offices and infrastructure. In connection with the new approach to the city, a new urban legislative framework was introduced that cleared the way for both local and central government to generate economic benefit from urban land, while also allowing them to become investors.[10] Moreover, instead of relying on market dynamics, the government decided to take a more active role. The newly adopted legislation aimed to facilitate reconstruction in built-up areas, and assigned special rights and responsibilities to several central state departments, primarily the HDA.[11] Following the legislative changes, two different types of urban project emerged. First, the HDA initiated renewal and regeneration projects for dilapidated historic areas within or near city centres, and started clearing and redeveloping the gecekondu neighbourhoods in these more advantageous locations (Kurtuluş, 2006; Türkmen, 2011). In most cases, these run-down areas were converted into spaces for consumption, business and international tourism. In a second stage, large-scale infrastructure projects, usually initiated by the central government and built with very limited or no social and environmental concerns, became very popular.

In opposition to these projects, two types of urban movement arose: *urban movements of the deprived* and *urban movements of the discontented*. These classifications are based on, though slightly different from, Marcuse's (2009) analysis distinguishing the demands of those who are deprived of certain basic material and legal rights and those who are discontented with life. The same distinction is adopted elsewhere (Özdemir and Eraydın, 2012; Eraydın and Tasan-Kok, 2014). The 'urban movements of the deprived', usually mobilized by blue-collar workers against the effects of urban redevelopment projects on their newly legal gecekondu homes, have been interpreted in some empirical studies as protests based on an appetite for personal gain (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). The 'urban movements of the discontented' are mobilized by left-wing professionals, artists and academics. These movements have a more political character and are triggered by neoliberal urbanization strategies and projects of both central and local governments usually focusing on the 'megaprojects' or the loss of public space—issues that concerned the public as a whole. In Istanbul, movements of the discontented groups focus in general on public spaces such as Gezi Park, or large-scale infrastructure projects such as the Third Bridge. Their key actors are professional associations, such as the Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City Planners, and voluntary activist organizations. Although these professional organizations represent

10   Law No.5216 (2004), Law No. 5393 (2005), Law No.5998 (2010).
11   Laws extending the powers of the HDA: (1) Law No.5273 Amending the Land Office Law and Public Housing Law, and on the Removal of the General Directorate of the Land Office (2004); (2) Law No.5162 Amending the Powers and Responsibilities of the HDA (2004); (3) Law No.5366 on Redevelopment and Rehabilitation of Dilapidated Historical Areas (2005); (4) Law No.5793 Amending the 4th Article of the Law on Mass Housing No.2985 (2008); (5) Law on the Transformation of Areas with Disaster Risk No.6306 (2012).

a large group of architects and urban planners, the government refused to take their views into consideration in urban planning practice and projects. That is why they became important actors in urban movements. Movements of the deprived usually develop in opposition to urban redevelopment projects in degraded and unlawfully built neighbourhoods, when the residents feel deprived or foresee a risk of deprivation as a result of those projects. These two types of movement are certainly closely intertwined. Actors from the movements of the discontented work with urban movements of the deprived as external agents, on a voluntary basis, as in the case of Gülsuyu and Gülensu.

The case study: the relationship between urban planning and urban movements in Gülsuyu and Gülensu neighbourhoods, Istanbul

Gülsuyu and Gülensu were constructed in the 1950s by immigrants working in the two main industrial areas of Istanbul at that time, Kartal and Tuzla. They first settled in Gülsuyu due to its close proximity to their workplace; it was developed as a working-class gecekondu neighbourhood. Houses were built using communal resources, and the residents supported each other in the creation of the settlement. In the 1960s and 1970s, it attracted further immigrants from the same home areas as the existing residents. In 1989 the southern and northern parts of Gülsuyu became two separate neighbourhoods: Gülsuyu in the south and Gülensu in the north. In the 1990s, Kurdish Alevis settled in Gülensu following their 'forced' migration from eastern Anatolia due to security concerns. Gülsuyu and Gülensu are currently home to some 36,000 residents, who are heterogeneous in ethnic and sectarian terms, but made up of mainly Alevis[12] and Kurds, along with Sunnis, resulting in a diverse resident profile. In terms of socio-economic status, the residents' profile is less diverse, since they are mainly workers in construction or the services sector.

The residents are also diversified with respect to their political ideologies. In the 1970s there was a strong left-wing political stance, and the neighbourhoods were very active during the political insurgency of the time. With the support of left-wing university students, they established People's Committees in the neighbourhoods, and this experience bolstered the culture of solidarity and resulted in a sustained connection with the activists, some of whom would become external actors supporting the neighbourhoods in their struggle against urban transformation. Over the course of time, the population of the neighbourhoods grew and became politically more heterogeneous. From 1980 onwards, parallel to this growth and the overall rise of conservative thought in Turkish society, there has been an increase especially in the right-wing conservative population. Nevertheless, both neighbourhoods are still known for their predominantly leftist stance and activism, evident in this proud expression: 'There are few people in Istanbul and Turkey who have not heard of Gülsuyu and Gülensu, on account of their political views and social structure' (R1, local activist).

Although the neighbourhoods were composed of diverse groups of people, they formed a strongly connected community before fragmentation during the planning process. According to several interviewees, the collective memory built by working together to build the houses, sometimes even the roads, and bringing water, electricity and sanitary facilities to the neighbourhoods, and the collective fight against the first attempts by the local government at demolition in the neighbourhood in the 1970s, backed by the state's armed forces, were the most important factors behind community spirit. This is evident in one resident's words: 'We have never had tensions between Sunnis and Alevis or Turks and Kurds. On the contrary, there was a consciousness of being from the same neighbourhood. In this respect, Gülsuyu and Gülensu were very lucky' (F2, local). These features should not be taken for granted for all gecekondu

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12   Alevis had lived under state oppression for centuries, and so had to develop a strong community life based on solidarity, mostly in remote areas far from state control.

neighbourhoods in Turkey. Some neighbourhoods, for example in Izmir, are known for the lack of solidarity among their residents (Tekeli, 1982; Demirtaş-Milz, 2013), due mainly to the absence of a strong collective memory of the kind that exists in Gülsuyu and Gülensu.

– Methodology

Research into the evolution of an urban movement provoked by the planning process comprised three stages and used multiple methodologies: (1) textual analysis and collecting information on the existing urban movements in Istanbul; (2) entering the field and making first acquaintances; and (3) field research in Gülsuyu and Gülensu (see Appendix 1 for more detail). In the first stage, the textual analysis was made through reading reports, articles and interviews with key actors published in journals, as well as watching videos on urban transformation in gecekondu areas broadcast on You-Tube. In the meantime, the researchers participated in an 'Urban Movements Forum' and workshops on urban movements organized on the occasion of the World Social Forum 2010 in Istanbul, and have followed an email group established by activists, residents and professionals from different mobilizations in Istanbul from 2010 until the present (with the group being regularly followed from March 2012 to August 2013). In the second stage, two preliminary unstructured interviews were conducted as an introduction to the field. In the last stage, 22 interviews were conducted with actors inside and outside the movement, including leading members of the movement, representatives of different local organizations, local and city-wide activists and external actors (members of the Solidarity Workshop,[13] urban planners working for the MDM and the neighbourhood residents—see Appendix 2). During the interviews, note taking and audio recording were utilized and the interviews were transcribed after the fieldwork.

Further information was garnered from participant observation at two full-day meetings of the movement and a focus group meeting organized with the residents. In participant observation, a passive participation was preferred, through listening to people, observing people's behaviours and internal conversations, taking notes, analysing them and the outputs produced within the group. Unstructured interviews were made with the residents after the events, as a natural extension of the participant observation (Patton, 2002). In this regard, one of the meetings, organized as a long breakfast in the neighbourhoods, provided the opportunity to get the opinions of ordinary residents, who were not involved in the movement. Furthermore, it was always possible to get first-hand information on the latest developments in the movement with the help of earlier connections from leftist organizations that were active in Gülsuyu and Gülensu around the 1970s.

Evolution of the Gülsuyu and Gülensu movement: rises and falls

According to the findings of the interviews, the evolution of the Gülsuyu and Gülensu movement, which took more than a decade from 2004 to the present, has been a process with rises and falls, on which urban planning has had an important leverage effect: an endogenous initial collective mobilization following a threat, namely the Master Plan that would have led to the demolition of their gecekondus, was followed by an ideological fragmentation after the threat was alleviated, and, finally, by a remobilization as a result of the emergence of an opportunity in the shape of a new plan, which, in turn, led to an interest-based fragmentation within the movement (see Figure 1).

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13   A civil initiative of mainly planners, architects and lawyers who work with low-income neighbourhoods facing urban transformation (Dayanışmacı Atölye).
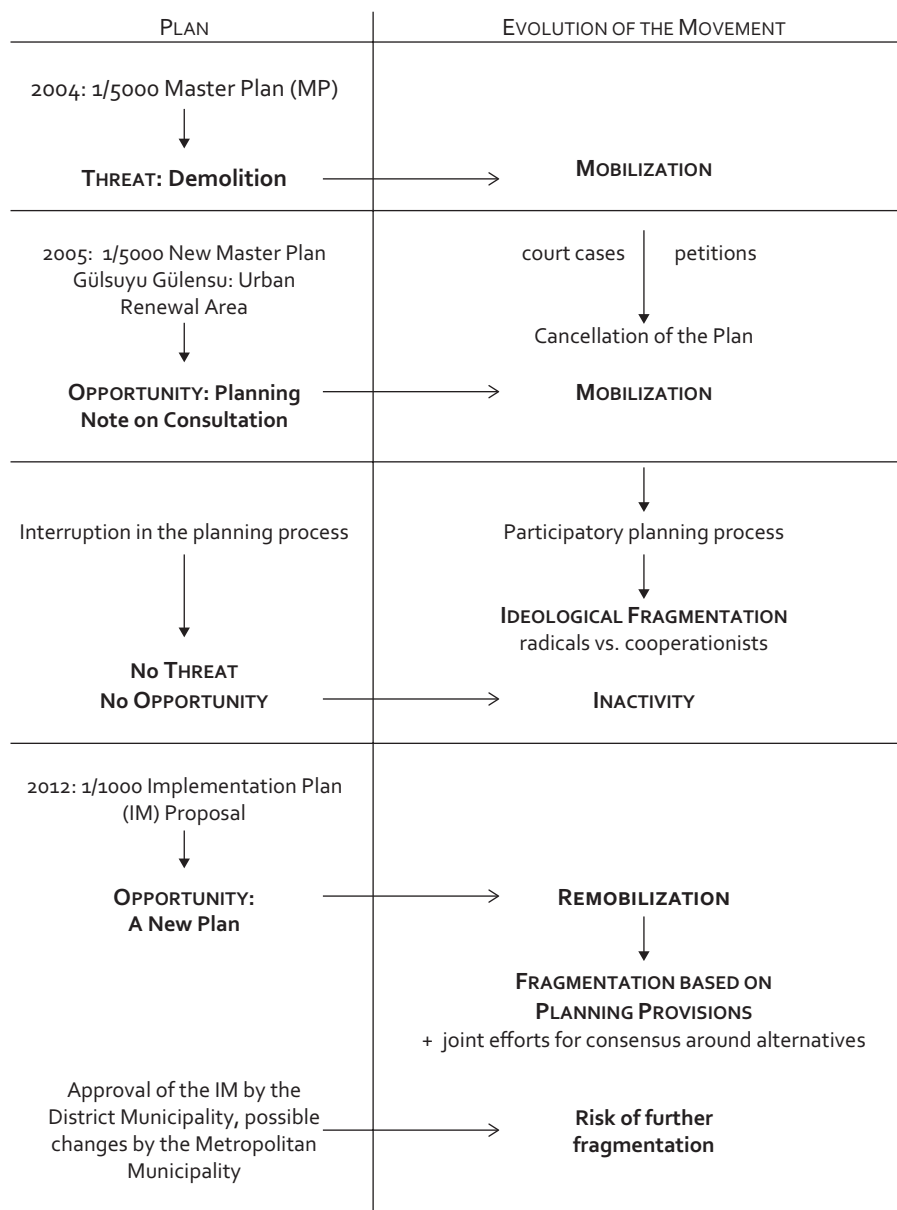
PLAN	EVOLUTION OF THE MOVEMENT
2004: 1/5000 Master Plan (MP)	
↓	
THREAT: Demolition ——→	MOBILIZATION
2005: 1/5000 New Master Plan Gülsuyu Gülensu: Urban Renewal Area	court cases petitions
	↓
	Cancellation of the Plan
↓	
OPPORTUNITY: Planning Note on Consultation ——→	MOBILIZATION
	↓
Interruption in the planning process	Participatory planning process
	↓
↓	IDEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTATION radicals vs. cooperationists
NO THREAT NO OPPORTUNITY ——→	INACTIVITY
2012: 1/1000 Implementation Plan (IM) Proposal	
↓	
OPPORTUNITY: A New Plan ——→	REMOBILIZATION
	↓
	FRAGMENTATION BASED ON PLANNING PROVISIONS + joint efforts for consensus around alternatives
Approval of the IM by the District Municipality, possible changes by the Metropolitan Municipality ——→	Risk of further fragmentation

FIGURE 1 Ideological and property-based fragmentations in the Gülsuyu and Gülensu movement (*source*: authors' research)

–   Collective mobilization against changes introduced by plans

In 2004, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) drafted a Master Plan (MP) for an area including Gülsuyu and Gülensu, which became a milestone for the neighbourhoods. According to the headman of Gülensu (R6), they were informed about the draft plan only about two weeks prior to the expiration of the plan's consultation period.[14] Following this information, the chairperson of the neighbourhood association

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14   According to the Turkish Zoning Law, once a plan is prepared by a municipality and approved by the Municipal Assembly, it is publicized for 30 days, during which any objections to the plan can be made.

of the time (the Gülsuyu-Gülensu Beautification Association [GGBA]), the headman[15] of Gülensu, political organizations and hometown associations set out to organize a struggle against the plan, initiated by an inner consultation process, which was supported by voluntary key professionals—here we call them 'external actors'. The former President of the GGBA (R1) explains this process as follows:

> There were urban planners, architects, lawyers who helped us. They explained the plan to us without using technical language. With this help, we could evaluate the plan and realized that it aimed to demolish our gecekondus and allocate almost three-quarters of the total land for social services and facilities, including large green spaces, a hospital and a library. In place of our houses there were social services! As if it was a vacant space.

They soon decided to make the process more inclusive by holding a series of meetings with the local residents to inform them about the plan and mobilize them to take action. A local and city-wide movement activist (R2) stated:

> We organized about 100 meetings anywhere we could; wedding salons, cafes, public spaces. We discussed what to do. Some Sunnis hesitated at first, but later began to attend after the Imam of the neighbourhood mosque became involved at the strong insistence of both external actors and the headmen.

In the end, they gained strong enough support from a wide variety of residents—from the Imam to the local pharmacist—to take action against the MP. The same activist further explained that in two weeks around 7,000 people had signed a petition against the plan, which was submitted to the IMM, and a further campaign was organized that garnered 10,000 signatures against it. A press meeting in front of the IMM followed, and 32 court cases were subsequently filed prior to the expiration of the deadline for objections.

The draft MP had to be cancelled by the IMM as a result of this strong opposition, and in the following year (2005), the IMM approved a new 1/5000-scale Master Plan for a larger area including the neighbourhoods, which foresaw urban renewal. In preparing the new MP, the IMM Planning Directorate worked more closely with the neighbourhoods; planners had a series of contacts with representatives of the movement. As a result, a binding clause was included in the new MP that ensured a participatory approach in the preparation of any implementation plan or urban transformation project. The chief urban planner would later make an auto-critique:

> We made the first Master Plan using classical methods. Then came many objections to it, especially about the lack of participation. After these objections, we tried to carry out a communication process in the new Master Plan, which had never been tried until then. Planners talk about these 'planning criteria', which are not that clear. While planning such areas, these criteria do not always function. There should have been a different method and we should have found it ... Since the time I started to communicate with the residents, I have made an effort to stand by the neighbourhoods (P1).

As confirmed in other studies, such as that of Şen (2010), where she discusses the struggles in Gülsuyu and Gülensu and another nearby gecekondu neighbourhood, Başıbüyük, such a high level of participation within such a short period of time has never been achieved in any other neighbourhood in Turkey. Local leadership and already existing organizational capacity played a critical role in this rapidly organized

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15   Headman (*muhtar* in Turkish) is the elected neighbourhood head in Turkish cities and villages. His/her duties are defined by law and are related to censuses, general elections, land registry cadastration, public health, etc.

struggle, building upon the political consciousness and a culture of solidarity in the neighbourhoods. This political consciousness was based on the 'working-class' identity of the neighbourhoods, an important point emphasized by Şen (2010) as well. Interestingly, this identity was not only rooted in the productive sphere, as the neighbourhood residents provided low-cost labour for the nearby industrial sites, but also revitalized in the reproductive sphere, as is evident in their own words: 'We are not "occupiers" of public land, but rightful owners of our houses, because we invested our labour in the construction of our houses and we brought infrastructure facilities by working collectively' (R4, local). The supporters of the movement emphasized that from an idle piece of land they had created an urban settlement integrated with the rest of the city. Therefore, they not only resisted a plan, but started a long process of defending their right to housing and their right to decide on the future of their living environments. They believed this was the precondition of a just city.

After the cancellation of the MP, proposing an alternative became a priority for the movement. This led to the introduction of a participatory planning process in 2006, something that is regarded as a condition for effective urban movements (De Souza, 2007). The alternative planning process based on the new clause mentioned above was perceived as an opportunity for the neighbourhoods to be able to decide on their future. Furthermore, the external actors helped the neighbourhoods build wider networks in the city, so-called 'weak ties' (Nicholls, 2008; Arampatzi and Nicholls, 2012), incorporating a larger group of city planners, architects, lawyers and sociologists, along with students of Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts (MSFAU).[16] These ties supported the neighbourhoods in the alternative planning process. They started by organizing a workshop involving the residents and academics as well as city planning and sociology students, the main idea being to build healthy communication channels in the neighbourhood through which the residents could get first-hand information regarding the future transformation of their areas and express their needs and demands. In that vein, several collective bodies were established of the kind regarded as important tools in a participatory approach (Savini, 2011). One of the respondents (R2, local and city-wide activist) described their collective bodies:

> First we formed a large Neighbourhood Commission, composed of members elected from among the residents, representing different streets. We later called them street representatives. They acted as a bridge between the residents and external actors. In addition to this, two subcommittees were formed, one for each neighbourhood, to represent them in formal relations with the municipality.

R3 (external actor, city planner) gave information on a survey conducted to investigate the existing conditions in the neighbourhoods: 'Three questionnaire forms were used in order to explore the physical, economic and social conditions of the neighbourhoods in September 2007, covering the entire population, without sampling'. The Neighbourhood Commission later agreed on 'planning principles', emphasizing that no one would be removed from the neighbourhoods or sent out to the periphery without his or her consent.

The planning process defined by movement actors on different occasions shows that the participative planning experience of Gülsuyu and Gülensu was distinct from that of other movements, since the neighbourhood representatives proactively mobilized against a plan and initiated an alternative one using endogenous resources. The literature on local participation (e.g. Savini, 2011) often focuses on participatory

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16   'Weak ties' refers to connections that urban movement activists build with more distant allies across the city. These weak ties provide the activists in a district with the knowledge of what other activists in a different part of the city are doing and, thereby, with the opportunity to reach out to a broader public. They are usually built by well-networked activists, who act as 'brokers' (Arampatzi and Nicholls, 2012).

processes that are initiated and carried out by local states and generally evaluates these processes with regard to their democratic qualities before finally presenting them as means of enhancing democracy (Font and Galais, 2011). Much of the literature, therefore, focuses on institutionally recognized citizen organizations that use participation channels provided by local authorities (Martínez, 2011).

– Ideological fragmentation

With the successful cancellation of the plan, the immediate threat of displacement was alleviated in the neighbourhoods. A sense of security emerged, along with the disclosure of previously hidden ideological cleavages. Şen (2010) relates this to the lack of in-depth prior discussions on the need for an alternative plan. This divergence, rooted in the incoherent perception of a 'just city' among the residents, soon developed into an ideological fragmentation between *radicals* on one side and *cooperationists* on the other. The radicals rejected both urban transformation and urban planning as facets of the capitalist system, arguing that any plan would result in a neoliberal urban transformation and damage the social and spatial structure of the neighbourhoods. The cooperationists contested the way urban transformation was being implemented, but not its existence. In that sense, the latter demanded to be a part of the urban transformation and were willing to negotiate with the local government.

A similar fragmentation was experienced in the *grands ensembles* of Paris in the 1960s, when 'urban unrest and grassroots organizations emerged to protest the low-quality living conditions of left-wing professionals' (Castells, 1983: 86). The overall movement suffered on account of the disagreement between those who favoured the expression of political will at a municipal level, and those who objected to direct dialogue with the capitalist system that they saw as the instigator of the urban crisis. In their comparative study of Hamburg and Berlin, Novy and Colomb (2013) emphasize the tension between strategies of a radical stance vis-à-vis the local state and dialogue and cooperation as a major challenge facing movements in the long term. In protests against urban renewal and poverty in the Mission District of San Francisco in the 1960s, some delegates, led by the black youth Mission Rebels, called for a more radical stand on the truly political issues (Castells, 1983), but their views proved insufficiently dominant to command the whole movement.

In our case, however, the views of the radicals were so dominant that the cooperationists left the association (GGBA) and founded a new one, the Gülsuyu-Gülensu Life and Solidary Centre (GGLS), aiming to continue an alternative planning process in cooperation with the municipality. The political tension between the two groups is fixed firmly in the memory of R4 (Local, member of Life in Anatolia Cooperative, Gülsuyu-Gülensu Branch):

> The board members of the old association used to say 'X person cannot be a member of our organization'. I asked why. Their answer was, 'He is a supporter of the European Union'. We were telling them, 'Look, there are no pure socialists or whatever in democratic mass organizations. Please don't do this.

The radicals preserved the highly ideological stance they had maintained since the 1970s and adopted oppositional tactics abstaining from any negotiation with the local government. According to R2 (local and city-wide activist), the cooperationists insisted on maintaining a collaborative position in the redevelopment process, not only for fear of losing out at the end of the process, as numerous experiences in the city had shown, but also perceiving the opportunities that cooperation with the municipal government would bring.

Ideological fragmentation in the Gülsuyu and Gülensu movement is meaningful inasmuch as it shows that not only the movement terrain in general but the movements

themselves are prone to fragment into radical vs. cooperationist factions under neoliberal urban policies. These cleavages might normally be tacit, but they become visible with respect to an alternative plan process under neoliberal conditions that force movements to be pragmatic and open to the actors of the system for a solution (i.e. the urban planning institution). When a group in the movement refuses to bend, like the radicals here, ideological cleavages crystallize, leading to fragmentation and, later, inactivity.

–   Remobilization and fragmentation along property-based conflicts
        The next phase of the Gülsuyu and Gülensu movement shows how new plans constitute opportunities for remobilization and how continuity can be maintained through joint efforts for consensus around alternatives.
        In 2012, the MDM decided to prepare a detailed (1/1000 scale) implementation plan (IP), based on the new MP in force since 2005. This time the IP was not perceived as a threat, but as an opportunity to acquire more building rights. This forced the two neighbourhood associations to come together and finally ended the ideological fragmentation. However, for the very same reason, namely concern about individual rights, the IP would soon lead to yet another fragmentation in the movement, this time along interest-based lines. In other words, ideological fragmentation did not mean death for the movement, but a phase of inactivity until it was reactivated by new plan-driven opportunities.
        The new IP had to bring building rights to a district with different ownership patterns: regularized areas where people had already received their property rights, and areas where people had constructed their buildings in the river basin and forest, or on someone else's private property (the so-called 'problem areas') and were not able to obtain title deeds. At this point, the critical issue was whether the new plan should take into consideration people without title deeds.
        The interviewee from the Planning Department of MDM (R16) indicated that 'the Municipality proposed a two-phase planning process to the movement representatives and external actors, beginning in the first stage with the planning of the regularized areas and then addressing the problem areas'. This proposal would be advantageous for most of the neighbourhood residents, but would exclude the residents without title deeds, leaving them at risk of displacement. An alternative method was suggested by the external actors that would include the residents of the problem areas: a gradual 'block-based planning', which would make it possible to save a certain amount of land for allocation to social housing for those without property rights. This method would include the residents of the problem areas. For this option, people were required to act collectively by establishing 'non-profit housing cooperatives', a model that was greatly favoured in the past, but less popular in the 2000s (Özdemir, 2011).
        These two suggestions started a new consultation process, defined by a rift between individualistic and collective concerns. The question was: 'Are we going to resolve our own problems, or maintain unity?' (R5, local activist). Three groups emerged in the movement around this question: (1) a core group adhering strictly to collective interests, advocating a plan that would provide property rights for all, (2) a peripheral group loosely and delicately connected to collective interests, and (3) people pursuing purely individual interests—similar to the rest of the people in the neighbourhoods who were not involved in the movement. For the core and the peripheral groups, the most immediate concern was the fear of displacement to housing estates constructed by the HDA on the periphery of the metropolitan area, as had been seen in most transformation projects in Istanbul, and this fear compelled the peripheral group to forsake prospects of greater property rights. The third group was, in general, individualistically motivated to gain a greater share of the property market.
        To carry out and finalize the consultation process with the MDM, a Plan Follow-Up Commission was formed, including representatives of the neighbourhood

associations, the headmen of the two neighbourhoods and external actors. The Plan Follow-Up Commission acted as a collective intermediary, both between the MDM and the residents and between property owners and those with no property rights. The Commission called for unity by revitalizing the collective memory of the residents: 'You have built your house in an area formed by the efforts of hundreds of people. If these neighbourhoods had not stood together, would you be able to build your three-storey houses? No. You owe your current property to your joint labour in the history of your neighbourhoods' (P1, external actor). The peripheral group acted in favour of collective interests by being part of the movement, despite the residents who were individually in favour of a parcel-based plan that would increase their building rights. In the words of a local resident: 'No one should suffer. Everyone should stay. For this, we want block-based construction. My individual wish is, in fact, parcel-based; but I should stay in line with the majority' (R7, Local, President of a home-town association). The third group, however, constituted a new challenge for the core of the movement.

These fragmentations based on conflicting ideologies or individual property-based interests led to a discussion on what a 'just city' actually is.[17] Answers to this question vary substantially in the literature, from a Marxist-structural analysis (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 2009) to perspectives that expand the analysis to encompass issues of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and everyday life (Soja, 1999; 2010). Different groups perceive the just city from different and sometimes adversarial perspectives, even in a small and strongly connected community like Gülsuyu and Gülensu. For radicals, the just city would be defined by socio-economic equality and no exploitation of labour, and this could never be attained in a capitalist system. For the cooperationists, on the other hand, the just city would be one where everybody would acquire a just share from the land rent newly generated by urban renewal. From the beginning, they agreed to negotiate with the government for a just share. These conflicting perceptions of a just city have not remained stable either; the radicals too agreed in the last phase to negotiate, when they perceived the new plan as an opportunity. However, for most of them—and for the core group of the movement in particular—the just city could only be attained through the collective option. The rest of the residents perceived the just city as a place where it was possible for them to maximize their individual gain. These different and changing perceptions, which surfaced in the planning process through ideological and property-based fragmentations, clearly show how hard it is to make the idea of a just city into a coherent goal.

– Joint efforts to overcome property-based fragmentation

In this climate of conflicting interests, the Plan Follow-up Commission brought together the demands and alternative suggestions of the neighbourhoods in a single document entitled 'Neighbourhood Demands' and submitted it to the MDM to be taken as a basis for further planning. The demands insisted on a plan-for-all, suggested block-based zoning to include those without property rights and asked for social housing for them. However, it was also underlined that the residents were under no obligation to make a choice between block-based and parcel-based options. This meant that property owners would be free to develop their individual parcels as they saw fit, contradicting the collective goal of a plan-for-all. One of the activists in the core group (R2) explained why they did so: 'We cannot force one particular planning solution onto everyone, even if we believe it is the best one. That would not accord with "neighbourhood demands"'.

It proved difficult to reach a consensus between the individual and collective options, but the core of the movement played a mediating role here. Similarly, Savini (2011), in his study comparing local participation mechanisms in two urban regeneration projects in Milan and Copenhagen, indicated that collective bodies of citizens,

17   See Connolly and Steil (2009) for a compact review of these discussions.

especially at the local level, often work as mediators between institutions and citizens. Here, forming the Plan Follow-up Commission was a critical strategy to overcome fragmentation. Through the Commission, the movement tried to persuade the property owners to support a solution that would serve the best interests of all people and bridge the gaps between the residents as well as between the residents and the municipality. They were not only defending their rights, but acting as a consensus instrument in the neighbourhood between collective and individual interests.

As the interview with the planner working for MDM showed (R16), the MDM was determined to conclude the planning process, on account of its legal responsibility and considering the electoral power in the neighbourhoods. Between 2013 and 2015, the 1/1000 IP process accelerated and the mayor of MDM—a social democrat—promised to conclude it by the end of 2015. The interests of the local government provided the movement (including the external actors) with a further stimulus to remain intact and engage in a long series of meetings with the MDM representatives. Finally, in December 2015 the 1/1000 IP, which covered most of the demands of the neighbourhoods, was approved by the MDM and transferred to the IBB for final approval. However, according to the participants in the fieldwork we have been in communication with as of mid-2016, the IBB intends to change this plan and increase the construction density, which the movement in general is not in favour of. This could signal further plan-driven fragmentations in the neighbourhoods.

Concluding remarks

The Gülsuyu and Gülensu movement has been in close interaction with the planning process and has so far been successful in preventing displacement. However, the process has been a far from smooth one. The planning process has led to the surfacing of not only property-based, but also ideological fragmentations in the movement. These plan-driven fragmentations show that it is not easy to overcome the conflicts between collective and individual interests that emerge in urban movements, any more than the ideological conflicts, even at a neighbourhood level. In that vein, the case study underlines the importance of urban politics, especially in the latest decade of neoliberal era, disclosing how urban space is shaped under the pressure of individual property-based interests even in a place where collective interests have been strongly defended. Despite the 'plan-for-all' objective of the movement, the emphasis on collective interests and the efforts to prevent those without property rights being left out, it became evident that increasing land prices and building rights provided tempting opportunities for some gecekondu owners. This was only to be expected in a population of more than 30,000 people and, more importantly, appears to be difficult to avoid in a neoliberal economy in which much of the wealth is created and redistributed according to property-based market dynamics. One of the responses draws attention to that poignantly: 'Would it be wise to expect a simple resident here not to go for increasing land rent, when famous businessmen in Turkey are explicitly running after it?' (R18, external actor, city planner), referring to Ağaoğlu, a famous land developer and businessman in Turkey, who has had widespread media coverage. What is especially interesting is that these opportunities have become so attractive that even the radicals, who had fiercely refused to negotiate with the local government, agreed to do so together with the cooperationists in the last phase, which ended the ideological fragmentation. This shows that fragmentations are not fixed in the lifespan of a movement, but are contingent upon changing circumstances and evolve into different forms, in this case from an ideological to a property-based fragmentation.

On the other hand, overcoming these plan-driven fragmentations became yet another challenge for the movement. Its endeavour to cope with this challenge, as the majority still looked to satisfy collective interests by bringing in alternative solutions, sets the Gülsuyu and Gülensu case apart from several others. The sustained traditional

leftist political stance and self-perception as rightful owners along with the support of external actors, which were all intertwined elements in the neighbourhoods, were the main driving forces behind this endeavour to overcome fragmentation and to defend collective interests along with a plan that looked after everybody's rights in the neighbourhoods. However, the planning process is still ongoing and liable to further property-based fragmentations.

Looking at the Gülsuyu and Gülensu case, we argue that, while contemporary urban movements try to defend collective interests and resist neoliberal urban development policies, since these policies are systemic and so well entrenched in socio-economic life, at levels of concrete action, movements themselves go along with the tools of the neoliberal mentality, making room for property-based motives. Our general conclusion is that, although contemporary urban movements can be instrumental in voicing the needs of urban citizens and resolving disputes between them and the planning authorities, they are far from being able to guarantee just ends, as there are, and will always be, conflicting interests and competing perspectives as to what these ends are. This is even more so under neoliberal urban policies, which aggravate individual property-based motives. But, be that as it may, the Gülsuyu and Gülensu experience also shows the importance of continuing discussions and joint efforts to find alternatives to keep the movement alive despite fragmentations. We think, therefore, that it should be taken into serious consideration by policymakers and academics alike in any attempts to develop a new model of urban redevelopment that does not leave anyone out of the loop.

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Appendix 1–Stages of the research

ACTIVITY		DATE/PERIOD
1st STAGE: Urban Movements of the Deprived		
1(a) Reading reports, publications, interviews and news on urban transformation in Turkey, Istanbul in particular		June 2010-February 2012
1(b) Participation in events	Urban Movements Forum, Istanbul	26-27 June, 2010
	6th European Social Forum, two workshops on urban movements, Istanbul	1–4 July 2010
	Housing Rights Congress, Ankara (national)	11 December 2011
1(c) Preliminary interview with Secretary General of Chamber of Architects, Istanbul Karaköy Branch		11 December 2010
1(d) Urban Movements Forum e-mail group membership and following e-mails (on events, activities, discussions, meeting minutes, etc.).		irregularly: July 2010–March 2012 regularly: March 2012–August 2013
2nd STAGE: Entering the Field, Gülsuyu and Gülensu		
Selection of the field: Gülsuyu and Gülensu neighbourhoods		February 2012
2(a) Reading articles, reports, local publications on the field, other publications on the issue		February–August 2012
2(b) Preliminary interviews	Local activist	March–April 2012
	External actor	
	District municipality representative	
3rd STAGE: Actual Field Research in Gülsuyu and Gülensu		
3(a) 1st round	16 interviews in total with local activists and external actors	August–September 2012
3(b) 2nd round	6 interviews with local activists and external actors	February–March 2012
3(c) Participation in local meetings and talks with residents	Neighbourhood working breakfast organized by neighbourhood association	December 2012
	Meeting of external actors and neighbourhood representatives	February 2012
3(d) Continuous update on developments via email and phone		March–August 2013

Appendix 2–Respondents and Participants at Meetings and Focus Groups

– Respondents
R1 Local movement activist, former President of GGBA, male, Alevi, 45 years old
R2 Local and city-wide movement activist, male, Sunni, 47 years old
R3 Member of Solidarity Workshop (city-wide initiative founded to help neighbourhoods in transformation), city planner, male, 31 years old
R4 Local, member of Life in Anatolia Cooperative (city-wide association), Gülsuyu-Gülensu Branch, male, 46 years old
R5 Local movement activist, member of ESP (Socialist Party of the Oppressed), female, 30 years old
R6 Headman of Gülensu, local movement activist, male, Kurdish Alevi, 55 years old
R7 President of the Association of Sivas Karabalçık Village, male, 54 years old
R8 Local movement activist, member of Gülsuyu-Gülensu Life and Solidary Centre (GGLS), female, 44 years old
R9 Local, member of GGLS, male, 40 years old
R10 Local, member of GGLS, male, 39 years old
R11 Local male, 40 years old
R12 President of Association of People from Çorum Mecidözü Dağsaray Village, male, 41 years old
R13 Local movement activist, President of GGLS, male, 45 years old
R14 Local, female, 45 years old

R15   Local, female, 44 years old
R16   City planner at Maltepe District Municipality, female, 30 years old
R17   Private architect, Secretary General of Chamber of Architects Kartal Branch, female, 40 years old (external actor)
R18   Member of Solidarity Workshop, academic at MSFAU Department of City and Regional Planning, male, 42 years old
R19   Member of IMECE (city-wide initiative founded to help neighbourhoods in transformation), city planner, 30 years old
R20   Secretary General of Istanbul Chamber of Architects Karaköy Branch (one of the initiators of the Gezi movement), female, 33 years old
R21   City-wide movement activist, columnist, female, 35 years old
R22   President of Toz-Der (association of a different neighbourhoods working in cooperation with Gülsuyu-Gülensu), male, Alevi, 53 years old

–   Participants at meetings
P1   Member of Solidarity Workshop, lawyer, male, 50 years old
P2   Urban Planner at IMM of the time, female, 46 years old
P3   Member of Solidarity Workshop (city-wide initiative founded to help neighbourhoods in transformation), city planner, male, 31 years old (R3)
P4   Local, male, 40 years old
P5   Headman of Gülensu, local movement activist, male, Kurdish Alevi, 55 years old (R6)
P6   Local, member of Republican People's Party (CHP) District Presidency, female, 45 years old
P7   Local, member of Life in Anatolia Cooperative (city-wide association), Gülsuyu-Gülensu Branch, male, 46 years old (R4)
P8   Former headman of Gülsuyu, male, 60 years old
P9   Local pharmacist, member of GGBA, female, 45 years old
P10   CHP Maltepe District President, male, 47 years old

–   Participants at focus group meeting
F1   Local, member of Freedom and Solidarity Party (ODP), female, 43 years old
F2   Local, Alevi, 35 years old
F3   Local, Alevi, 38 years old
F4   Local, Alevi, 32 years old
F5   Local and city-wide movement activist, male, Sunni, 47 years old (R2)
F6   Local, member of GGLS, male, 40 years old (R9)